ARCHAIC GREECE AND THE EAST

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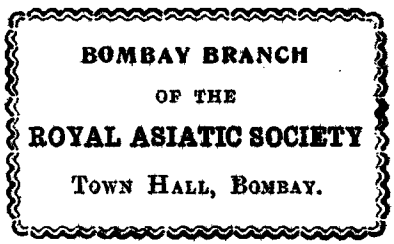

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ARCHAIC GREECE AND THE EAST.

HOWEVER indulgent may be the audience that I have the honour to address, some apology is unquestionably necessary for the association of my name with the work of an Oriental Congress. Ignorant of the languages of the East, I am not cognizant of its races, manners, and institutions, except at a period which must still be termed pre-historic, although some important parts of what belongs to it have, during the present century, gradually acquired the solidity of history. That, however, was the period when, from a central point in Asia, population radiated towards most, if not all, points of the compass: under a kindred impulsion, but with incidents and destinies infinitely various.

The oldest civilizations tolerably known to us are those which appear to have sprung up with a marvellous rapidity in the Babylonian plain and in the valley of the Nile. With one or both of these was ministerially associated a navigating and building race, which touched the Persian Gulf eastwards and the Mediterranean westwards, and probably kept open and active the line of traffic and passage between

the two. Through this race seems to have been distributed over the coasts of the great inland sea, and beyond them, a knowledge of the arts. It was this wealth of the East, which was thus gradually and irregularly imparted, to relieve the poverty and develop the social life of the West.

The receptivity, so to speak, of the different countries and races lying within the circle of these visits would appear to have been extremely diversified, and the traces of the process are, for the most part, fragmentary and casual. In one case, and in one only, there is cast upon it the light of a literary record. Of all that was said or sung on the shores of the Mediterranean in those shadowy times, nothing great or weighty has survived, with the solitary, but inestimable and splendid exceptions of the two works known as the Poems of Homer. They alone (to use the language of a great modern orator) have had buoyancy enough to float upon the sea of time. In them we see the life of those times, such as it was actually lived. We see it as we see in some great exhibition what is termed going machinery. They exhibit to us, as their central object, in the formation stage of its existence, the nation which then inhabited the Greek Peninsula, together with important, though isolated or subordinate, traits of other races and lands.

We have then before us the following group of

facts:—First, there is a great treasure of social art and knowledge accumulated, perhaps for the first time, by human labour in the East. Secondly, we have a seafaring people on the Syrian coast, filled with the vivid energy of commerce, who left in different shapes on every accessible shore the marks of imported arts. Next we have obtained, during the present century, a large access of independent knowledge, which exhibits to us the particulars of these Eastern civilizations in their original seats, and which, as we shall see, has found its counterpart or echo in some recent researches of Western archæology. To this we have to add, from the Poems of Homer, a delineation of what may fairly be called contemporary life, which is so copious as to apparently exhaust the whole circle of the simple experience of those times, and to be indeed encyclopædic.

It may seem, then, that we possess in the poems rare and unrivalled means of interpreting the voiceless treasures supplied from the various sister sources, and of estimating now, somewhat less imperfectly than heretofore, the aggregate of the original debt, which Europe and the West owe to Asia and the East.

And here I reach the point at which, if anywhere, I may find an apology for my intervention in the proceedings of an Oriental Congress. For what I may fairly term a long and patient, though necessarily often intermitted, study of the text of Homer may

possibly enable me to offer a small and exotic contribution to the great and many-sided purpose of the present distinguished assembly.

In approaching my immediate subject, I have no other concern with the long and, in the main, unprofitable group of controversies, known as the Homeric question, than this—that I have to treat the Poems as an integral mass of contemporary testimony to the life, experience, and institutions of a particular age and people; to which they add other collateral illustrations. Whatever speculators may have fancied as to their origin and authorship, the general rule has been to treat their contents as an unity for practical purposes. Whether the aim has been to describe the Zeus or the Hermes of Homer, or the ship, or the house of Homer, the voice of the Poems has been accepted as one authentic voice. The chief exception to that rule has been made in the case of the glimpses of other religions supplied by the Odyssey; glimpses which, in my firm opinion, do not impair, but illustrate and confirm belief in that unity of mind which has governed the composition of the Poems. But this is a point on which it is unnecessary to dwell.

In considering the contributions of the East to the life and manners of the Achaians—for that is the designation most properly attaching to the Homeric forefathers of the Greek nation—I shall not begin

with religion. We are not now inquiring what elements of religion were carried westwards by those who progressively migrated from the central seat in Asia; but what aggregate of all arts and knowledge, after the first peopling of the Greek Peninsula, was imparted to its inhabitants and their neighbours from the stores of those Eastern civilizations which had been developed during the intervening ages, and through the medium generally of the Phœnicians; that is to say, of that navigating race, who were, to all appearance, the exclusive intermediaries of intercourse by sea between Asia and Europe.

It is recognized as a certainty that this people formed the maritime arm of the great Egyptian Empire. But commerce is comprehensive in its sympathies, and disposes men rather to profit as neutrals by the quarrels of other people than to share in them as parties; so a people like the Phœnicians would, in the natural course of things, and regardless of partisanships, be carriers from Babylon and Assyria, or from any region with which they traded, as well as from Egypt, with which they had a distinct political relation.

But now is the time to make an observation of vital importance with regard to the comprehensive meaning that attaches in Homer to the Phœnician name. Whether the Achaian Greeks themselves devised that name to describe a set of strangers who frequented their coasts, we have no means of know-

ing. It derives, however, no support or illustration from the Pentateuch, or (as I believe) from the monuments. But for Homer it seems to cover everything found in the Achaian Peninsula that was of foreign origin. Not that the poet is fond of tracing the particulars of arts and manners to their Eastern sources. The intense sentiment of nationality, which led some Greek states of later days to covet the title of Antochthons, was most of all intense in him; and it is, for the most part, by undesigned coincidences alone, and by the careful co-ordination of particulars sometimes brought together from afar, that we are able to make out the large catalogue of Achaian obligations to the East. But whether the question be of persons settling in the peninsula, or of things brought by or learned through maritime visitors who came from the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, all of these apparently had but one vehicle, and that vehicle was the Phœnician ship. Consequently all came to carry the Phœnician name, or to run up into Phœnician association, for the contemporary Achaian. Much as to the Turk of later days every European was a Frank, so to the Achaians of Homer all persons and things reaching them over sea were bound up with this Phœnician name. The designation accordingly covers not only the bold mariners of the time, but everything for which they were the purveyors, or supplied the vehicle; in a word, all Syrian, Assyrian, Egyptian,

and generally all Eastern meanings. What it indicates is a channel; and all that came through that channel is embraced by it. This extended use of the term would appear then to have a more consistent basis than that which I have quoted as a parallel usage. Europeans were all Franks in Turkey by a metonymy which gave the designation of the majority to the whole. Egyptians or Egyptian subjects were reckoned as Phœnicians (φοίνικες), because, all reaching the Achaians in Phœnician ships and Phœnician company, they presented in this particular a real unity of aspect.

Taken in this pervading sense, the first Phœnician gift to the Greek Peninsula would appear to have been one connected with civil institutions. We obtain a view of it through the remarkable phrase *Anax andrōn*. Nothing can be simpler than the meaning of the two words. They signify not king of men, but lord of men; the word *anax* designating a class and not an office.

The phrase is most commonly applied by Homer to Agamemnon. But it is also used for five other persons, and with indications which, though far from complete, are abundantly sufficient to show that it is not a merely ornamental invention of the poet, but a note attaching strictly to particular persons in virtue of some common quality or attribute. It is not royal, and does not indicate supremacy, for the word *anax* is wholly distinct

from *basileus* (a king), and only indicates in Homer, as applied to men, the higher class of men, or some notable member of that class. It is heritable, for it is given both to Aineias and his father Anchises. It does not go with powerful and marked individualities; for Agamemnon is only, as a character, one of the second class among the great chieftains, and all the others are lower in Homeric rank. It is not national, for it is enjoyed by Trojan princes. It is ancient; we find it borne by Augeias two full generations at least before the Trojan War.

Agamemnon was the fourth[1] ruler in his family since, apparently under Pelops, it first became connected with Greece; while the Dardanian line, in which we find it, was the senior of the two royal branches in Troas, and is carried upwards from the time of the War through six generations. Shall we suppose the *Anax andrōn* to have been the Governor or Satrap, sent over sea from Egypt at the climax of its power when it ruled the Greek Peninsula and the neighbouring regions at a period preceding, by an interval we cannot yet define, the age of the Trojan War? We should thus find an explanation consistent with all the facts for a phrase which certainly requires an explanation, and which otherwise cries out for it in vain.

This phrase supplies us with the oldest historic note of settled and regular government in

[1] Il. ii. 104–8.

Greece. Not only because we find it associated with kingship, but because we find organised, under Augeias who had borne it, the peaceful institution of the Games,[1] which we know to have attracted bards as well as horses from neighbouring districts. As we have no trace of any struggle connected with the Egyptian invasion, it may be that the foreign rule, loose in its character, after the manner of Asiatic rule, was easily established over a population living by agriculture, and dwelling village-wise (*komēdon*); and that, under the larger organizations thus created by degrees, may first have grown that consciousness of strength, and that capacity of progress, which led, after a time, even to national reaction against the foreigner.

This reaction took the various forms of the Theban and the Trojan wars, of the Colchian expedition, and probably also of an Achaian share in the now historically known combination of emancipated or struggling neighbour States against Egypt in the time of Merephthah. This remark, however, requires something of detailed exposition. It is not from Homer himself that we are to expect any willing indication of the prevalence at a former time in his already glorious country of a foreign rule. Yet we are not wholly without evidence from extraneous sources of a connexion between the title of *Anax andrōn* and the

[1] Il. xi. 698, *sqq.*

great Egyptian Empire. For example, we learn from the Egyptian monuments that in the fourth year of Rameses II., at the close of the 15th century B.C., the Dardanians of Troas fought as allies in the armies of Egypt under Maurnout, King of the Hittites, and that after a series of years they returned to their own country. Nothing could be more natural than that, in virtue of this political connexion, the ruling Dardanian line, which preserved its separate existence down to the period of the Trojan War, should be invested with an Egyptian title.

In the case of the Pelopids, we find ourselves provided, by the discoveries of Schliemann at Mycenæ, with evidence of a different class, but tending with the highest degree of likelihood to the same result. In the Agora at Mycenæ, Dr. Schliemann discovered four tombs[1], of which Mr. Newton said that we must rest content with the "reasonable presumption" that they contained Royal personages; and as to which I believe that no one now disputes their belonging to the heroic and prehistoric age. If so, they surely also belonged to the house which during that age ruled in Mycenæ—namely, the house of Pelops. In a preface to Dr. Schliemann's[2] volume on his discoveries there, I have set forth a number of considerations connected with the Poems, which there is

[1] Mycenæ, Preface, p. xxvii.

[2] pp. xxiv. xxviii. *seq.*

not time to notice here, but which tend towards the conclusion that one of these tombs may contain the remains of an historical Agamemnon himself. But it is enough for my present purpose to observe that the title of *Anax andrōn* was descendible from father to son, and that it is accorded in the poems to personages altogether secondary—viz., Eumelos, Il. xxiii. 288, 354, and Euphetes, xv. 352; who is nowhere else mentioned by Homer—in all likelihood on this especial ground.

We must, therefore, suppose it probably to have been inherited by Agamemnon; and there is no counter evidence to impair the reasonable conclusion that the sovereigns buried in these tombs belonged to a line having the title of *Anax andrōn*.

But, on the other hand, these sepulchres offer us numerous and clear notes of connexion with the usages of the Egyptian Empire. Among these are the presence in one of the sepulchres of the scales for weighing the actions of the deceased, which recall the Book of the Dead; the use of gold leaf, which was found as it had been laid over the countenances now long decayed; the position of five bodies stretched in a long but narrow tomb, not along but across it, with inconvenient compression from lack of space, but in the direction of east and west,[1] and facing westwards according to the usage of Egyptian burial. Such, in fact, is the strength of

[1] Mycenæ, p. 295.

Egyptian association as to these tombs, and otherwise established by the Mycenian remains, as to leave little room for reasonable doubt on its existence. And thus we have the title of *Anax andrōn* once more placed in relation with Egypt, since it clearly subsisted in the Pelopid line, and since individuals of that line were in all likelihood the occupants of Mycenian sepulchres. The title itself is of so marked a character that we are led to connect the assumption of it with some great event, and such an event would undoubtedly be the first mission of Pelops, or the first head of the Pelopid house, to bear rule on behalf of Egypt in the Greek Peninsula.

If these conjectures be correct, and if an Eastern Empire imparted in various quarters of the North and West the first germ of a civil society extending beyond the scale of the village community, it is matter of extreme interest to note the differences of mode and of result with which the gift was received by different races and regions. If we judge by the length of the genealogies in Homer, Troas was the seat of States older than any in the Achaian Peninsula, those, namely, of Ilion and Dardania. It is in Dardania only, the older of the two, that we find the *Anax andrōn*. And it is true that we have no detailed account of Dardanian manners and institutions.

We have, however, this detail in the case of Troy, and we have no reason to assume a substantial difference between them. But as between Trojan and

Achaian, in the political department, we find marked differences all along the line. The Trojan State has indeed a King and an Assembly, but they do not present so much as the beginnings of free speech, of real deliberation, or of national life. The bribes of Paris appear to supply the main motive power. All is coloured with an Asiatic hue. And so among the Phaiahes, where the colour of the description is not Hellenic but Phœnician. A recent American commentator[1] remarks on the absoluteness of Alcinous in his kingship, there being assemblies, but no debate; only immediate acquiescence in the views of the King. But in the Achaian communities, whether at peace, as in Ithaca, or in the camp before Troy, we recognize the elements of the grand conceptions I have named. They may not indeed be fully and consistently developed, but they are visible everywhere in their outline, and they reach even up to the point where we find that the will of the supreme chieftain is liable to be checked in a regular manner by other judgments; liable, we may almost say, to be out-voted. So that when, at nearly the lowest point in the fluctuating fortunes of the army, Agamemnon has proposed to abandon the expedition, he is resolutely resisted in debate by Diomed, and the general feeling of the soldiery compels him to give way.[2]

[1] Merriam, Phœnician Episode, on Od. vii. 2.

[2] Il. ix. 46, *seq.*

Here we have exhibited in a particular case the essential character of the Achaian receptivity. What the East had the faculty of conceiving, but not of developing, the more elastic and vigorous nature of the Achaian Greek took over as an imparted gift, and then by its own formative genius opened out, enlarged, and consolidated in the form and with the effect of an original endowment. I shall presently endeavour to unfold this proposition in a diversity of particulars.

It will naturally be asked if the Egyptian Empire left upon once subject lands a trace of departed authority in the title *Anax andrōn*, did it not impress on the traditions of the Achaian race any note of its own conception of kingship, and of the remarkable connection which it had established between royalty and divinity? The oldest dynasty given by Manetho is said to have been of the gods and demigods. The list of Egyptian kings on the Turin papyrus begins with a line of deities, the last of whom is Horus.[1]

The divine name Ra, incorporated in the names of kings, carries downward into historic time the memory of this belief; and it is not surprsing that we should find a pretty distinct trace of the same belief in the Homeric Poems. I refer to his use of the two phrases *Diotrephes*, Zeus-nurtured, and *Diogenes*, Zeus-born. The first of these is applied to the race of the Phaiahes, with the distinct

[1] Rawlinson, Herod, ii. 337.

intention of representing them as of the kindred of the gods;[1] and in the Iliad we have it used to signify the kings of cities as a class.[2] It is nowhere otherwise employed except in a line[3] where it has been allowed to supplant an old and I believe legitimate reading, and where it is little better than senseless. Once, in the singular, it is applied caressingly by Achilles to his instructor, Phoinix.[4] But it may be stated generally that both words are confined in Homer to Royal personages with a remarkable strictness; and, as if further to impress on them the characters of titles, the favourite usage of them is in the vocative. Conformably with the sense of these remarkable epithets, the ancestries of the Homeric Kings often run up to Zeus; sometimes to Poseidon, and this probably in his character as a god supreme in his own proper regions and mythologies. It seems easy here to perceive a real connexion with the Egyptian idea and practice.

But again, we have to notice that the transplantation into Achaian Greece of the Asiatic or Egyptian notion did not imply continuing confinement within its bounds. The poet availed himself of the venerable character thus accorded to the bearers of civil authority, the basis of which he always regards as divine; but this did not lead him into the region of despotic ideas. Nothing can be less like the Eastern despot than an Achaian King, who has to rely upon

[1] Od. v. 278. [2] Il. ii. 60. [3] Il. iv. 480. [4] Il. ix. 603.

reason, upon free speech, upon the assembly, as principal governing forces; and who seems to supply an historic basis for the succinct but very remarkable description given by Thucydides of the early Greek rulers as kings upon stipulated conditions.[1]

But before proceeding to details, I will describe certain impressions, strictly relevant to the present subject, which have resulted from my long study of the poems, and which, if they be correct, would prove that Homer himself had an energetic and also a methodical conception of the obligations of his country to the East. It is, I believe, generally admitted that in Achilles, the protagonist of the Iliad, we have a superb projection of the strictly Hellenic character, magnified in its dimensions to the utmost point consistent with the laws of poetical probability. In the epithet Hellenic is conveyed that wonderful receptivity which first accepted and then transmuted the Eastern rudiments of civilization. But, by the side of this Hellenic form of character, there is another at once its sister, its rival, and its complement; and, as the Iliad is the triumphal procession of the one, so the Odyssey is the deathless monument of the other. It is remarkable that the poet has placed these two, different as they are, in relations of close sympathy and attachment, so that they never clash; while, of the two next Achaian heroes, Diomed has no point of personal contact with

[1] Thuc. i. 13.

Achilles (offering, indeed, to carry on the war without him), and Ajax becomes involved in a deadly feud with Odysseus. The distinctness of the two great dominating characters enables them to fit into, to integrate one another, and jointly to express the entire mental and moral aggregate of the race. There was indeed a third ethnical ingredient, the Pelasgian, which perhaps had to bide its time for its own proper development. For the Homeric and heroic picture, Achilles and Odysseus between them expressed all that was great, signal, and formative in Achaianism. We may perhaps sum up the greatness of Achilles in this, that he expressed a colossal humanity. What was it that he did not express? He did not express, and Odysseus did, the many-sided, the all-accomplished, the all-enduring man: the *polutropos*, the *polumetis*, the *tlemon*, the *poluttls*, the *polumekanos*, the *poikilometis*, the *poluphron*, the *daïphron*, the *talasiphron*—in whom this is perhaps above all remarkable, that the completeness of his structure, the firmness of his tissue, raised his passive even up to the level of his active qualities.

Let us look a little round the circumference of the man. In battle he is never foiled. In counsel he is supreme. His oratory is like the snow flakes of the winter storm. Victor in the severe strength-contests of the Twenty-third Iliad, he conquers also among the Phaiakes in their game of skill. This is

a specimen only; and he tells them he is no bad hand at any of the athletics practised among men.[1] He is the incomparable bowman, who performs a feat otherwise beyond human strength. His is the spirit of boundless patience which enforces silence in the cavity of the horse. But the range of his accomplishments also includes every manual art. In the island of Calūpso he appears as the ship carpenter. As the ploughman he can challenge a haughty suitor to compete with him in harvesting corn all day till nightfall without a meal, or in driving the straight and even furrow with a team of powerful oxen.[2] In his own palace, he built his chamber after the Phœnician manner, that is, with great hewn stones.[3] It was reared over a full-grown olive tree, which he cut at a proper height, and then shaped the stump into his nuptial bed. Into this he wrought inlaying of gold, of silver, and of ivory, and this operation supplies the sole instance in which not merely any Achaian chieftain, but any Achaian whatever is found in the Poems to execute a work of art. That it is such is undeniable, for he applies to it the very term *daidallōn*, from Daidalos, whose name may be said to give the summit level of art for those days. Even the bed-covering expresses the same idea of foreign art, for it is dyed with purple (phoiniki) which carries the Phœnician name.[4] Alone among the

[1] Od. viii. 190, 214.
[2] Od. xviii. 365-75.
[3] Od. xxiii. 192.
[4] Od. xxiii. 188-201.

Achaian Greeks, he elevates his manual labour into the region of genuine art; as he was also alone among them in presenting to us the character of a daring navigator prepared to face distant voyages with the extremes of climate and adventure.

I have endeavoured elsewhere to show how Ithaca, as well as its head, abounds in the signs of Phœnician association.[1] Here I will only observe that if the character of Odysseus has been based by Homer upon Phœnician elements, trained by Hellenic contact and experience into a superior development, and set out in the Poems by the side of the purely Hellenic Achilles, there cannot be a more decisive exhibition of a belief in the mind of Homer that the institutions and arts of life viewed as an aggregate were imported from the East.

But, over and above this universality of Odysseus in the arts of life, he bears the Phœnician stamp in what may be termed his craft. In the Thirteenth Odyssey, Athenè signifies to him pretty plainly[2] that there can be no use in their endeavouring to impose upon one another, as he is first of all mortals in counsel and in figments, while she has a corresponding precedence among the Immortals. In general, a high prudence is the characteristic of each, sometimes degenerating into cunning. This combination of prudence with cunning is everywhere in the Poems a

[1] See Phœnician Affinities of Ithaca, *Nineteenth Century*, Aug., 1889.

[2] Od. xiii. 296-9.

leading Phœnician characteristic, and it supplies a fresh note of affinity between the Phœnician idea at large and the wonderful and consummate character of Odysseus.

Let me now endeavour to show in some important details how this general idea receives its verification from the Poems. I have spoken of government. In the great chapter of religion the case is different. There is but little in Homer to associate the loftier elements of the Olympian religion with Egypt or Assyria or the race of Phœnician navigators; and the same may be said as to the Nature worship which was probably the previous religion of the mass of pre-Hellenic inhabitants. The principal contribution from Phœnician sources to the mixed scheme of this Achaian thearchy was the great god Poseidon. But of all the chief deities of the system, Poseidon is the lowest in type. Powerful as an exhibition of force, he is nowhere in touch with such ethical elements as subsist in the Olympian religion, or with its least materialistic elements. But when we turn from the religion to the ethnography of the poems, the god Poseidon becomes to us a great fountain head of instruction. First we identify him as at every point associated with the Phœnician name and character. Of the Phaiakes, who are so deeply coloured with their attributes, he is the supreme local deity, and they are indeed his kin. In the conventional triad of Homer he rules the sea, of which they are the earthly

masters. Nestor is, next to Odysseus, the chieftain, who exhibits the Phœnician quality of prudence bordering upon craft; but Nestor is his descendant, and there were others of his lineage in the Western Peleponnesos, where we find the *Anax andrōn* in the person of Augeias, who may have been of the same race. Next we note conclusive evidence that Poseidon is a southern deity. His descendants, the race of Kuklopes, have been shown[1] to be on the Libyan coast. He frequents the Aithiopes of the south to enjoy their sacrifices, even at a time when the Olympian gods are holding a solemn assembly; and he seems to be specially associated with the Solyman mountains. He also carries the sure note of dark colour, and has the word Κυανοχάιτης not only for an epithet, but for a title.

Such being his ethnical and such his local associations, let us next inquire what are the special attributions of this Deity, and we shall find that they at once supply us with three of the most essential constitutive elements of social existence—the instrument of sea passage, the instrumeut of land passage, and the means of solid and permanent habitation. In relation to ships, it was his to grant the good voyage or to refuse it. Achilles had no special connexion with Poseidon, but when, in the Ninth Iliad, he threatens to sail home, he says it will be accomplished if Poseidon[2] favours him. And so conversely the

[1] See Mr. R. Brown's Poseidon. [2] Il. ix. 362.

voyage of Odysseus from Ogugiè, though favoured by the gods at large, is doomed to fail because Poseidon has determined that he shall be wrecked. On the other hand the Phaiakes, who are special worshippers of Poseidon, excel all men in navigation as rowers, with a speed equalling that of the hawk in the air, or of the four-horse chariot on the plain.[1]

The main instrument of agriculture was the ox, but the main instrument of locomotion, and the grand auxiliary in war, was the horse. The connexion of Poseidon with the horse is even more intimate than with the ship. He unyokes and puts up the horses of Zeus on their arriving in Olympos,[2] which cannot be a simple note of inferiority, since Horè performed the same office for Athenè. The signification here of the horse attribute is made all the more pointed, because this is the only act performed by Poseidon in Olympos. Peleus was of the lineage of Zeus; yet the deathless horses of Achilles were presented to his father not by Zeus but by Poseidon. Neleus had the distinction of a four-horse team; but Neleus was the child of Poseidon. When Antilochos was to be instructed in horse-craft, Poseidon united with Zeus in imparting it. When Menelaos challenges Antilochos to purge himself in the horse-race, of a suspected fraud, he requires him to lay his hand upon the horses and to swear by Poseidon that he is inno-

[1] Od. xiii. 81–6. [2] Il. viii. 440.

cent of this incident. I know but one probable construction.[1] It is that Poseidon was the god of the particular region, Africa, without doubt, which principally supplied the Achaian Peninsula with its horses. There are still very curious traces of the ancient importation of horses from Africa on the tract of Mediterranean Coast lying between Frejus and Hyères, and bearing the designation of *Pays des maures.*

Not less remarkable is the relation between Poseidon, with the Phœnicians, and the construction of houses with hewn or wrought stone. We trace this connexion in the legend of the perjury of Laomedon, who is said to have withheld the pay stipulated to be paid to that divinity for having constructed the walls of Troy. This legend probably had its basis in some transaction with the Phoinikes, his worshippers. For it may be laid down as a general rule that, wherever throughout the Poems we meet a mention of skilled building or ornamentation, or of the use of hewn stone, it is among men who stand in association with the Phœnicians. Thus we have an imposing description of the palace of Alhinoos, and of the buildings of his city; but through Phaiakes, Homer signified Phoinikes.[2] We have a case of inferior but similar magnificence in the palace of Menelaos; but then Menelaos had spent eight years in Eastern travel, and had ac-

[1] Il. xxiii. 592–5. [2] Od. vii. 44–6, F 1 *Seq.*

quired much substance in the course of it, which would naturally imply knowledge of its arts.[1] Even Poluphemos, brutal as he was, had the courtyard for his sheep and goats built of quarried stone; but Poluphemos was the son of Poseidon, and thus allied with the great building race. I have assumed all along that the inhabitants of the Peninsula were acquainted with agriculture before the advent of the Phœnicians, or of those whose nationality was covered by their name. This, I think, is sufficiently shown by the etymology of a portion of the names given to Achaian soldiery, which is indicative of pursuit, and is markedly different from those of the chiefs. I know but one place in Homer which associates the East specially with the art of tillage. It is where the cultivation of the Egyptian fields is specially commended. But, speaking generally, it is for advances beyond this stage of civil progress that we have to look to the Phœnician vehicle. And I think that already the debt of the Achaian Peninsula to the East has been shown to be considerable. Let us carry the process somewhat further. In truth the difficulty would be to point to any of the arts of life, as exhibited in the Poems, which was not derived, at least in germ, from Eastern and South-Eastern sources. Nothing has been said of hunting. It may probably have been known in some shape as a defensive incident of rural pursuits before it had grown into a recognised princely pursuit.

[1] Od. iv. 82–90.

I come next to art. And here it has to be observed that, although the use of the potter's wheel is known in Homer, yet there is nowhere an association of this art with the effort to produce beauty; nowhere, therefore, an indication of the fine arts, except in connexion either with metals or with embroidery. To begin with embroidery, which is the smaller of the two subjects. When, in the Sixth Iliad, Hecuba has to select the most precious robe she possesses for a propitiatory offering to Athenè, she chooses the largest and the best adorned with patterns, which glittered, too, like a star.[1] Now it is probable that Troy may have been more advanced in art than Greece, for it was an older settled country, if we judge by the number of generations allowed by Homer from the first ancestors. But this choice robe and the collection from which it was taken were not the work of Trojan women. They were wrought by the damsels whom Paris brought with him over sea from Sidon. In this case the word *poikilmata*, which describes the patterns, does not seem to include representations of the human form, which Homer, with his intense sense of form, would hardly have allowed to pass as mere decoration. When Penelope resorts to her famous device in the Odyssey,[2] we are told only of its size and fineness. It was meant professedly for a shroud to enwrap the body of Laertes; and the mere incident that it was unwoven at night shows that it was not a work of art. The apparatus employed by Helen in the Fourth

[1] Il. vi. 289, *seq.* [2] Od. iii. 104, *seq.* 95.

Odyssey was one for spinning only; and even this was a gift made to her in Egypt.[1] In the Third Iliad, however, we find her employed in her chamber upon a web upon which she embroidered (*enepassen* is the word, used upon this occasion only) many combats of the Trojan and Achaian warriors.[2] Here, and here only in Homer (as we must except works wholly ideal), we have that higher form of art which consists in the representation of the human form. But the foreign derivation is here obvious, for we must suppose Helen to have learned the art either at Sidon, which[3] he had visited in her company, or from the Sidonian attendants of whom mention has been made.

Metallic art holds a more important place in the poems than embroidery, and it assumes more forms than one. Most commonly it is exhibited in portable articles of war or other use; but it is also an auxiliary of architecture, which nowhere, except in connexion with metallic workmanship, approaches to an ornamental character. This art is so entirely Eastern in its associations, that the possession of it by Odysseus supplies one of the substantive presumptions that he was modelled upon lines originally Phœnician. Hephaistos and Athenè[4] are the two standing instructors in arts, she for women in textile work, and he for metals. His name appears to fall

[1] Od. iv. 125–35. [2] Il. iii. 125. [3] Il. vi. 292.
[4] Od. vi. 233; xxiii. 160.

within the statement of Herodotus as to gods whose designations were derived from Egypt. His divinity was probably established on the coasts of the Ægean as that of a nature power, for the name is more than once used as synonymous with the element of fire.[1] But this character is in him wholly subordinate to that of the worker in art, and he fights against Troy, which is befriended by the nature powers. His true character is that of the art-worker. He builds the Olympian palaces. He fashions the shield of Achilles. He made the most precious of all the valuables in the palace of Menelaos, a silver bowl, with edges of gold, and this bowl was presented to the Achaian Prince by Phaidimos, the King of Sidon.[2] The silver bowl given by Achilles as a prize in the foot race was of Sidonian manufacture, and was brought to Greece by Phœnician traffickers. The signs of his handiwork abound in the palace of Alkinoos, where he made the golden and the silver dogs.[3] Throughout the poems nothing can be clearer than the association of metallic art with the Phœnician coast. Even a superficial view of the Homeric text cannot fail to recognise in this particular respect the debt of the Greek Peninsula to the East.

But, as it was the general rule of the Greek race to improve upon the benefactions they thus acquired, we have a very signal example of such improvement in

[1] Il. ii. 226; Od. xxiv. 71. [2] Od. iv. 617; xv. 117.
[3] Od. vii. 92.

the case of works in metallic art. With an extraordinary daring, the Achaian poet endows these works with automatic motion, and even with the gift of understanding. The lame Hephaistos, as he proceeded to his anvil and his forge, was propped by female figures in gold, which he had wrought, and which were educated in accomplishments by the Immortals.[1] So likewise in the palace of Alkinoos, besides the golden youths who hold torches to light the banquet, and who are named without any other express specification, the golden and silver watch dogs, which have already been named, are endowed with the life which was needful for the performance of their office, and are exempt both from death and from old age.[2] In the marvellous details of the Shield, the poet seems always to be imparting life to the metallic product. Thus wonderfully was he made at once the recorder of what the East had invented, and the prophet by anticipation of those more splendid triumphs which in the aftertime his countrymen were to achieve.

I might show if time permitted the connexion between the Phœnician idea and the establishment of the Games, the knowledge of drugs, the use of pork as an article of food, and the supply of slaves to the Achaian region.

But it is time to say a few words on the case of Assyria, to which thus far I have made little

[1] Il. xviii. 376, 417–20. [2] Od. vii. 91–4, 100–2.

or no specific reference. The Assyrians were too distant to be even within the range of the poet's knowledge, as exhibited in his sketch[1] of the travels of Menelaus in the south-east. We are therefore led to the supposition that what the Achaians had obtained from Assyria they had obtained without definite acquaintance with the source whence it came, and that the name and marine of the Phœnicians stood as an opaque curtain between them and the great south-eastern empire. Much, nevertheless, may have come, especially if in a fragmentary form. I have elsewhere[2] made a collection of particulars from the Homeric text which appear to betray an Assyrian origin. I say advisedly to betray, for we are wholly without direct information, and have only internal evidences to guide us. A portion of these I will briefly set forth :—

1. Homer gives us the great encircling river Okeanos as the origin not only of rivers and fountains, but of gods and men. Compare a citation made by Dr. Driver from the tablets concerning Heaven and earth :—

> "The august ocean was their generator,
> The singing deep was she that bare them all."

2. Thalassa, the Greek name for the sea, is of Chaldean origin.

3. Poseidon has a marked correspondence with

[1] Od. iv. 83–5.

[2] "Landmarks of Homeric Study," pp. 127, *sqq.*, with the authorities are there cited.

the Hea of the Assyrian Triad or Trinity, in certain respects. Neither of them was an elemental god, but each was ruler of the sea. Poseidon was dark in line; and Hea was the creator of the black race.

4. Deification is found on the tablets in the case of Izdubar. The only instance of absolute and pure deification given by Homer is that of Leucothea, and she belongs to the Phœnician or Eastern circle.

5. Babylonia records the gigantic size and strength of primitive man, and so Poseidon has relations with the giants in various forms.

6. The Ishtar of the tablets appears to correspond with the Aphrodite of Homer, the passage of whose worship into Greece we can trace by her association chiefly with Paphos, and next with Cythera or Cerigo.

7. Aïdoneus, the Greek Pluto, has among his other epithets in Homer that of *pulartes*, the gate-fastener. The term receives little or no illustration from the Homeric text. But the Assyrian Underworld has no less than seven gates; and its leading idea is not that of receiving the dead, but of shutting in the dead.

8. The relation of sonship, and of a conformity of will attending it, between the god Merodach and his father is represented in a peculiar and most striking manner by the conformity of will between the Apollo of the Iliad and his father Zeus.

9. The Babylonian Triad of Anu, Bel, and Hea is the possible or probable source of the Homeric Triad of Zeus, Poseidon, and Aïdoneus.

10. Wherever there is any particular notice of stars in Homer it is always in Phœnician association, as if based upon accounts of the Chaldean astrology.

11. Heptaism, or the systematic and significant use of the number seven, is peculiarly Chaldean. The only marked use of this number in Homer is for the seven gates of Thebes. Now Thebes was the only one of the Achaian cities distinctly traceable in Homer to an Eastern origin.

12. Canon Rawlinson gives reasons for supposing the Assyrian gods to have been about 19 in number; and Homer seems to use 20 as an approximate number for the Olympian gods.

13. The descent of Ishtar to Hades caused great disorders in the Upper World. We may, perhaps, compare the threat of Helios to Zeus, that if his demand was refused he would cease to travel the sky and shine only in the Underworld.[1]

14. On the tablet the Flood is the consequence of sin, and the allusion to a flood in an Homeric simile associates it with the sins of rulers.

15. In the Babylonian system the Moongod is the father of the Sungod. In Homer the moon is nowhere personified, but thrice we find the sun invested with the patronymic Hyperion; and in each case the passage is one of strictly Oriental association.

It will be observed that in this enumeration I have not yet alluded to the great gift of the alphabet

[1] Od. xii. 374–83.

which has been commonly recognised as a gift of the Phœnicians to Greece.[1] To this gift and to its source Homer bears witness in a single passage of the Sixth Iliad. It records the legend of Bellerophon, who is himself a descendant of Clœus or Aiolas, and this name when found in Homer is, I venture to assert, a sure sign of Phœnician association. The other chief actor, who transmits the written or symbolic message, is Proitos, and Proitos is the king of Argolis, an undoubted seat of immigration from the south-east.

Yet one other remark, whatever the East gave to the West, it did not supply Europe with the basis of its social morality in the great article of marriage. Sexual license is, according to the Poems of Homer, traceably wider in the East than in Western regions; and it is remarkable that at that early date we should find the line between polygamy and monogamy already drawn where it may be said generally to have lain ever since, namely, at the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles.

I now, with renewed apologies, bring to a close this very humble contribution to a great cause. To have offered it will give me sincere pleasure, if it prove to be in any degree a source of interest or profit to any among the members of the Oriental Congress of 1892.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

July–August, 1892.

[1] Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. 717, 9.

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